

Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-08 NEA-06 RSC-01 IO-04

ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01

OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 DODE-00 /096 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/IR:REINHORN/DBLACK:LSQ

APPROVED BY IO-AMB. BLAKE

EA/J:DBROWN

S/P:JKALICKI

PM/DCA:CFLOWERREE

IO/UNP:

ACDA/IR:DLINEBAUGH

DOD/ISA:JGRANGER

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P R 222303Z OCT 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 232776

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, JA, UN

SUBJECT: UNGA DISARMAMENT: JAPANESE DRAFT NON-
PROLIFERATION RESOLUTION

REF: USUN 4145

1. WHILE WE OF COURSE SUPPORT OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING
NON-PROLIFERATION, WE SEE CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES IN
RAISING NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES IN SECURITY COUNCIL PER
JAPANESE INITIATIVE. CHIEF PROBLEM IS WIDELY DIVERGING
ATTITUDES OF FIVE SC PERMANENT MEMBERS TOWARD NON-
PROLIFERATION AND RELATED QUESTIONS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
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AND SECURITY ASSURANCES. ASKING SC TO "STUDY" THESE

QUESTIONS WOULD PROBABLY LEAD TO POLEMICAL AND DIVISIVE DEBATE, WITH NPT OPPONENTS PLACED IN POSITION WHERE THEY WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO EXPRESS HIGHLY CRITICAL VIEWS. SUCH POLARIZED PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS WOULD TEND TO WORK AGAINST QUIET EFFORTS TO ENLIST SUPPORT OF NPT PARTIES AND NON-PARTIES ALIKE FOR PRACTICAL STEPS TO INHIBIT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, INCLUDING INITIATIVE, ANNOUNCED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN UNGA SPEECH, TO SEEK SUPPLIER COUNTRY COOPERATION IN STRENGTHENING SAFEGUARDS. ALTHOUGH WE ARE SO FAR AWARE ONLY OF NEGATIVE REACTION OF UKUN TO JAPANESE APPROACH, WE DOUBT ANY SC PERMANENT MEMBER WOULD BE INCLINED TO ENCOURAGE IT. CHINESE, IN PARTICULAR, CAN PROBABLY BE EXPECTED TO BE EXTREMELY NEGATIVE.

2. JAPANESE RES (REFTEL) CALLS ON SECURITY COUNCIL TO STUDY POSSIBLE MEASURES ON SUCH MATTERS AS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, CONSOLIDATION OF SECURITY OF NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, AND STRENGTHENING OF SAFEGUARDS. GIVEN DIVERGENT VIEWS OF FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS ON QUESTION OF SECURITY ASSURANCES, WE BELIEVE THAT ATTEMPT TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING ASSURANCES COVERED IN SC RES 255 (1968)--WHICH IS PRESUMABLY AT LEAST PART OF WHAT JAPANESE HAVE IN MIND --WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE, AND COULD EVEN DAMAGE CREDIBILITY OF EXISTING ASSURANCES. IN ADDITION, WE THINK QUESTIONS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, AND SAFEGUARDS ARE ALREADY BEING HANDLED IN FORUMS MORE SUITABLE, AND MORE LIKELY TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE RESULTS, THAN SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. AT SAME TIME, WE APPRECIATE JAPANESE SUPPORT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION AND RECOGNIZE FONMIN KIMURA'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN INITIATIVE. THEREFORE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD STRONGLY PREFER TO AVOID SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF NON-PROLIFERATION QUESTIONS, WE WOULD NOT WISH TO APPEAR AS OVERT OPPONENT OF RESOLUTION OR TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS ON ISSUE. MOREOVER, WE WOULD ALSO WANT, IF POSSIBLE, TO AVOID SITUATION WHERE RES ON NON-PROLIFERATION IS FOCUS OF CONTENTIOUS DEBATE, WITH NUCLEAR POWERS NOT ONLY DIVIDED AMONG THEMSELVES

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BUT SEEMINGLY UNWILLING TO SUPPORT ACTIONS TO STRENGTHEN NON-PROLIFERATION.

4. US DELEGATION SHOULD SEEK EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO JAPANESE REQUEST FOR OUR REACTIONS TO DRAFT RESOLUTION. DEL SHOULD EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR GOJ'S HAVING CONSULTED US ON THEIR INITIATIVE AND FOR FONMIN KIMURA'S STRONG INTEREST IN NON-PROLIFERATION AS MANI-

FESTED IN HIS UNGA ADDRESS, AND STRESS THAT WE FIRMLY SUPPORT JAPANESE OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING NON-PROLIFERATION. DEL SHOULD INDICATE THAT WE RECOGNIZE SECURITY COUNCIL'S ROLE IN DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS UNDER UN CHARTER, BUT THAT, AS PRACTICAL MATTER, WE HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS THAT OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING NON-PROLIFERATION WOULD BE SERVED BY ASKING SC TO STUDY NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES. INDEED, IN LIGHT OF SHARPLY DIFFERING VIEWS OF PERMANENT MEMBERS ON NON-PROLIFERATION AND RELATED ISSUES, BRINGING THESE ISSUES TO SC COULD EVEN RESULT IN HEATED DEBATE DAMAGING TO BROADLY BASED, COOPERATIVE NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORT. DEL SHOULD ADD THAT A NUMBER OF THE ISSUES RECOMMENDED FOR STUDY BY SC ARE ALREADY BEING HANDLED BY EXPERIENCED BODIES. DEL SHOULD INDICATE THAT IF, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, OTHER SC

PERMANENT MEMBERS DO NOT SUPPORT INITIATIVE AND IF IT BECOMES CLEARER THAT SC CONSIDERATION OF NON-PROLIFERATION WOULD INDEED INVOLVE ANTICIPATED RISKS, US WOULD HAVE DIFFICULT TIME SUPPORTING RESOLUTION. DEL SHOULD RECOMMEND THAT JAPANESE DEL SEEK REACTIONS OF ALL SC PERMANENT MEMBERS AND INDICATE WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HEARING RESULTS OF THESE APPROACHES.

5. IF NUCLEAR POWERS' COOL REACTIONS MATERIALIZE BUT JAPANESE DEL MAKES CLEAR THAT IT INTENDS TO PRESS FORWARD WITH INITIATIVE, DELEGATION IS AUTHORIZED, SHOULD IT APPEAR APPROPRIATE AND USEFUL, TO SUGGEST TO JAPANESE POSSIBILITY OF REVISING DRAFT RESOLUTION. DEL COULD SUGGEST THAT DRAFT RES THAT DID NOT REQUIRE SC TO TAKE SPECIFIC ACTION AND WAS NOT TIED SO CLOSELY TO NPT AND NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE--BUT WAS NONETHELESS AIMED AT CURBING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND RECOGNIZED ROLE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY COUNCIL IN THIS REGARD--MIGHT ACHIEVE BROADER SUPPORT THAN ORIGINAL DRAFT AND HAVE MORE POSITIVE EFFECT ON NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORT. FOR EXAMPLE, SUCH A REVISED RES MIGHT, IN ADDITION TO REPEATING PARA ONE OF ORIGINAL RES, ACKNOWLEDGE SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEALING WITH ANY THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY WHICH MAY BE POSED BY NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND CALL ON SC TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTIONS TO DEAL WITH SUCH THREATS WHEN NEED ARISES. THE DELEGATION WOULD INDICATE THAT, ALTHOUGH FINAL USG DECISION COULD ONLY BE MADE ON BASIS OF ACTUAL LANGUAGE WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO A RESOLUTION ALONG THESE GENERAL LINES IF IT WERE ACCEPTABLE TO THE OTHER SC PERMANENT MEMBERS.

6. UPON RECEIPT REPORTING TEL ON USUN'S INITIAL RESPONSE TO JAPANESE IN NEW YORK PER PARA 4, EMBASSY TOKYO SHOULD MAKE PARALLEL APPROACH TO FOREIGN MINISTRY. ANY FURTHER COMMENT EMBASSY MAY WISH TO MAKE CONCERNING GOJ'S SPECIFIC PURPOSES OR OBJECTIVES IN PRESENTING RESOLUTION, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO NPT RATIFICATION ISSUE, WOULD BE APPRECIATED.

7. FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE PROVIDED AS NEEDED. KISSINGER

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